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No. IV.

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*TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE
en 1830.*

TO THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

LETTER I.

On the necessity of Parliamentary Reform, in order to prevent any dangers to the English Government from the recent Revolution in France.

London, 21st August, 1830.

MY LORD DUKE,

1. On a great number of occasions I have addressed myself to you; I have expressed my opinions to you with regard to future consequences; and as you must now, if you look into the addresses to which I allude, confess that my opinions have been always verified by the events, I hope that you will not deem it unreasonable, if I think that you ought to pay attention to that which I am now about to address to you, "On the necessity of a PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, in order to prevent danger to the English Government from the recent Revolution in France." I intend to do this in a series of letters; and in justice to myself as well as to you, I will publish these letters *in French* as well as *in English*. Your commissaires of stamps, who watch over the press, make me pay *four pence and the quarter of another penny* out of every *sixpence* that I receive for my journal, leaving me *one penny and three quarters* to pay for *paper, print, publishing*, and for my *time and talents*; and surely I may be permitted to enjoy the satisfaction of knowing that my writings are read by the French as well as by the English. I am compelled to send a bag of gold every week to your commissaires of stamps; myself and my people are held in heavy bonds; but, God be praised, there is, *as yet*, no

AU DUC DE WELLINGTON.

LETTRE I.

Sur la nécessité d'une réforme parlementaire, afin de prévenir les dangers auxquels le gouvernement anglais se trouve exposé, par suite de la révolution qui vient de s'opérer en France.

MILORD DUC,

1. Je me suis adressé à vous dans bien des circonstances. Je vous ai soumis mon opinion sur les conséquences des événements auxquels je faisais allusion, et si vous parcourez les écrits que je vous ai adressés, vous serez forcé d'avouer que les suites ont toujours justifié mes prédictions, et que j'ai, par conséquent, quelque droit d'espérer que vous tournerez votre attention sur ce que j'ai à vous communiquer maintenant " concernant la nécessité d'une réforme parlementaire, afin de prévenir les dangers auxquels le gouvernement anglais se trouve exposé par suite de la révolution qui vient de s'opérer en France." Je me propose d'en faire le sujet d'une série de lettres, et pour être juste envers moi comme envers vous, je les publierai en *Français* et en *Anglais*. Vos préposés au bureau du timbre, inspecteurs de la presse, me font payer quatre *pence* et un *farthing* sur les *six pence*, que je retire de la vente de mon journal; en sorte qu'ils me laissent un *penny* et trois *farthings*, pour payer *l'impression, le papier, les frais de publication*, et pour compenser mon *temps* et mes *talents*. Il m'est donc bien permis de me donner la satisfaction de savoir que ce que j'écris sera lu par les *Français*, aussi bien que par les *Anglais*. Je suis contraint d'envoyer, chaque semaine, un sac d'or à vos commissaires du timbre. Je suis *forcé*,

positive law to punish me for publishing my words in the French language. This, therefore, I will do, as far as relates to this series of letters; and perhaps with the regard to all the numbers to be published under the title of *Tableau de l'Angleterre*.

2. In the course of these letters, I shall have to show why we want a *parliamentary reform*; and the *great dangers to which a want of it will expose this country*, especially as we have now before us the example of the French people. But in this present letter, I shall speak to you of the publications in London, which give us reason to believe THAT THE TYRANNICAL MEASURES OF POLIGNAC WERE INSTIGATED BY PERSONS IN THIS COUNTRY. This is a very serious charge against our country; but it is not more serious than it is TRUE; and this I am now about to prove; not to insinuate or assert, but to PROVE.

3. There is a publication called the QUARTERLY REVIEW, which is published once in every three months. This work, the *names* of the writers of which are kept completely *secret*, is called by all who talk of it, a *Government publication*. I do not call it such, because I cannot *prove* the fact; but I can call it a publication of the ARISTOCRACY AND THE CLERGY, because it is sold by a bookseller devoted to them, and because they support it and circulate it.

4. From the time that the POLIGNAC MINISTRY was formed, this Review and all the newspapers and other publications called "ministerial," began to inculcate the necessity of making the Government of France "*more monarchical*!" As POLIGNAC advanced in his plans, these publications advanced in boldness; and as soon as the Chamber of Deputies had been dissolved, they applauded the *wisdom* and *firmness* of POLIGNAC. When they perceived that the people of

ainsi que mes imprimeurs, de donner de fortes garanties ; mais, Dieu soit loué ! il n'existe, du moins pour le moment, aucune loi positive qui me punisse pour oser exprimer mes pensées en Français. Je continuerai donc à le faire, pour ce qui concerne du moins cette série de lettres ; peut-être même à l'égard des numéros qui seront publiés sous le titre de TABLEAU DE L'ANGLETERRE.

2. J'aurai à prouver, dans le cours de ces lettres, pourquoi nous avons besoin d'une *réforme parlementaire*, et à démontrer "les dangers que ce pays-ci aurait à courir," si elle n'avait pas lieu, depuis, surtout, que nous avons le bel exemple de la France sous les yeux. Cependant, je ne vous entretiendrai dans cette lettre que des journaux de Londres, dont la contexture nous donne sujet de croire que LES MESURES TYRANNIQUES DE POLIGNAC ONT ÉTÉ PRISES À L'INSTIGATION DE QUELQUES PERSONNAGES DE CE PAYS-CI. Cette accusation est grave, sans doute ; mais elle n'est pas plus grave qu'elle n'est VRAIE. C'est ce que je vais prouver, et remarquez bien que je ne dis pas insinuer, affirmer ; mais PROUVER.

3. Il paraît, tous les trois mois, une brochure sous le titre de QUARTERLY REVIEW. Tous ceux que j'entends parler de cet ouvrage périodique dont, par parenthèse, on ne connaît nullement les rédacteurs, l'appellent *Gazette du gouvernement*. Je ne lui donne pas moi-même ce nom, parce que je ne puis prouver qu'elle le mérite ; mais je puis l'appeler *Gazette de l'aristocratie et du clergé*, parce que l'éditeur leur est notoirement dévoué, et parce qu'ils en favorisent la vente et la publication.

4. Du moment où le MINISTÈRE POLIGNAC fut formé, cette revue et tous les journaux, dits "ministériels," se mirent en devoir de faire sentir la nécessité de rendre le gouvernement de France "plus monarchique." A mesure que Polignac avançait vers l'exécution de ses projets, ces journalistes avançaient en hardiesse, et aussitôt que la chambre des députés fut dissoute, ils applaudirent à la sagesse et à la fermeté du premier ministre du roi de France. Lorsqu'ils

France had not been deluded by the Algerine expedition, and that the new elections would be against POLIGNAC; then they began openly to recommend *an abrogation of the Charter*, and the *assumption of arbitrary and absolute power on the part of the king*.

5. This, though the language of all these publications, was held more distinctly than common by the above-mentioned QUARTERLY REVIEW, which seems to have been the main organ of those who instigated POLIGNAC to proceed to the completion of his tyrannical purpose. The authors of the work (who are *gens à gages*) published in their work, which *appeared on the 30th of May last*, a long article to prove that *the French press ought to be subjected to a censorship*, that the *Chamber of Deputies ought to be made dependent on the king*, that the king ought to be *nearly absolute*, and that **THIS CHANGE WAS NECESSARY TO THE PEACE AND SAFETY OF ENGLAND!** That I do not misrepresent here, I will now cite the conclusion of this article, in the words of the hired writer, whose name is kept a secret; and when I have done this, there will remain in the mind of no man the smallest doubt, that the tyrannical designs of POLIGNAC were *well known* in London, and that *he was instigated by persons in London* to adopt his tyrannical acts.

s'aperçurent que le peuple français n'était nullement séduit par l'expédition d'Alger, et que les nouvelles élections allaient contre POLIGNAC, ils recommandèrent ouvertement *l'abrogation de la Charte*, et firent sentir la nécessité de conférer au roi un pouvoir arbitraire et absolu.

5. C'était là le langage de tous ces journaux; mais plus particulièrement du QUARTERLY REVIEW, qui paraît avoir été l'organe principal de ceux qui pressaient POLIGNAC de procéder à l'exécution de ses projets tyranniques. Les rédacteurs de cette brochure, tous gens à gages, remarquez-le bien, y insérèrent, le 30 mai dernier, un long article à l'effet de prouver la nécessité d'établir la censure en France, de mettre la chambre des députés sous la dépendance du roi, de rendre le monarque pour ainsi dire absolu; et ils ne craignirent pas d'avancer que TOUTES CES MESURES ÉTAIENT INDISPENSABLES À LA PAIX ET À LA SURETÉ DE L'ANGLETERRE. Pour vous convaincre, milord Duc, que je ne donne pas une fausse interprétation à leur langage, je vais citer la fin de cet article, dans les mots même de l'auteur, dont le nom est tenu soigneusement caché; et, lorsque je l'aurai fait, il ne restera aucune espèce de doute au jugement de qui que ce soit, que les projets tyranniques de POLIGNAC étaient bien connus d'avance à Londres, et qu'il était poussé par des personnages de ce pays-ci pour les mettre à exécution.

6. "Nous espérons donc," dit le pamphletier à gages, "ou plutôt nous avons la confiance que le roi de France et ses ministres actuels réussiront, si tel est leur but, à établir la censure et à acquérir une prépondérance si décide dans la chambre des députés, que son existence, comme corps indépendant, capable de braver le roi, comme elle l'a fait tout récemment, ne sera plus reconnue. Cette mesure, nous l'avouons, sera une abolition réelle de la Charte; mais la question se réduit évidemment à ceci. La monarchie qui convient à la France, sera-t-elle renversée; ou bien abrogera-t-on la charte qui ne lui convient sous aucun rapport?"

"need we care what France does? " Mais, dira-t-on, qu'avons-nous af-
 "Why not let her do what she pleases? " faire de ce qui se passe en France ?
 "What have we to do with her institutions, as a nation, more than we have
 "with the domestic arrangements of our next-door neighbour in the street? " Pourquoi ne pas la laisser faire ce que bon lui semble ? Qu'avons-nous à dé-
 "meler avec ses institutions, comme nation, plus que nous n'avons affaire
 "des arrangements domestiques de notre plus proche voisin ? La réponse
 "à cette question n'est par malheur "que trop évidente. Si notre voisin ne
 "fait que battre sa femme et ses enfants ; s'il règle ses affaires de la
 "manière la plus désordonnée qu'on puisse imaginer, nous n'avons aucun
 "droit de nous plaindre ; mais s'il s'enivre ; s'il répand des brandons de
 "manière à mettre le feu, non-seule-
 "ment à sa propre maison, mais à incendier la commune entière, nous
 "sommes forcés, malgré notre désir de vivre en paix, de prendre le plus vif
 "intérêt à sa conduite. Si l'on pouvait entourer la France d'un mur chinois,
 "dans l'intérieur duquel ses habitants s'égorgeraient les uns les autres, et
 "vivraient heureux et satisfaits au sein de l'irreligion et de la démocratie, peu
 "importerait aux nations voisines ; mais quand une longue expérience a dé-
 "montré que toute commotion de quelqu'importance qui a lieu en France, ne manque jamais de répandre la confusion sur toute la surface de la terre ; quand nous savons qu'elle couve des projets d'ambition, d'agrandissement et de vengeance nationale ; quand tout enfin conspire, dans ce moment même, pour pousser la plus grande partie de la population Française à de nouvelles guerres, nous ne saurions voir leur existence précaire actuelle, sans éprouver la plus vive anxiété. Nous croyons en avoir assez dit pour prouver qu'il ne nous reste plus qu'une marche à suivre pour préserver le bon ordre ; et quelque répugnance qu'elle nous inspire, comme Anglais, l'urgence des circonstances exige que nous n'hésitions pas d'en faire l'essai ; mais qu'au contraire, nous nous préparions à voir, comme le plus léger des deux maux, le rétablissement temporaire de la puissance absolue entre les mains du roi de France. Si la chose es-

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" carrying into effect, *some very decisive measure IN THE COURSE OF THE PRESENT YEAR*, there will ensue *another burst of convulsion*; and Napoleon has left no saying of more indisputable truth behind him, than *that a revolution in France is a revolution in Europe.*"

" impossible, ou si par malheur *la tentative ne réussit pas*; nous devons préparer à une guerre qui durera un quart de siècle. Nous croyons qu'il est impossible de révoquer en doute, qu'à moins que le gouvernement actuel adopte, et parvienne à prendre quelque mesure décisive dans le courant de la présente année, on ne saurait éviter une nouvelle convulsion. Napoléon n'a jamais dit de plus grande vérité, que lorsqu'il a affirmé *qu'une révolution en France était une révolution dans l'Europe entière.*"

7. Here, then, we have it all! *Plot, execution and motive*; and here it is clear as daylight, that this hired writer (*cet homme à gages*) not only knew on the 30th of May of the designs that POLIGNAC attempted to execute on the 26th of July, but that that tyrant was *instigated to the attempt by PERSONS IN THIS COUNTRY!* And instigated too, not merely by writers, not merely by *des gens à gages*, but by OTHERS, who were in all the secrets of the affair. The object of this writer was to prepare beforehand a *justification* for the measures of POLIGNAC; to blind the people of England, and induce them to *keep silent* when the act of tyranny should have been committed in France. But how are we to believe that this hired writer (*cet écrivain à gages*) knew by mere self-information, that POLIGNAC intended a *censorship of the press* and an *abolition of the rights of election?* How are we to believe that *in the month of May*, this man knew that POLIGNAC would attempt to do precisely these things *in the month of July*; unless we believe that this *écrivain à gages* had his information from SOME PERSON IN THIS COUNTRY? POLIGNAC would hardly communicate his horrible designs to this low hireling. Nobody can believe that he did this; and therefore we are constrained to believe that the hireling was, in the month of May, informed by SOME ONE IN LONDON of what was intended to be done in Paris. It was attempted just as is here recommended; the ordinances imposed the *Censorship*, and abrogated

7. Ainsi tout s'est vérifié; *complot, exécution, et motif*; et il est clair comme le jour que, le 30 du mois de mai, cet écrivain à gages, non-seulement était instruit du plan que POLIGNAC tenta de mettre à exécution, le 26 du mois de juillet suivant; mais même que ce tyran commit cet attentat à *l'instigation de quelques personnages de ce pays-ci*, et à l'instigation, je ne dis pas seulement des écrivains, des gens à gages, mais encore de beaucoup d'autres individus qui étaient dans le secret de cette affaire. Le but du rédacteur du QUARTERLY REVIEW était évidemment de préparer d'avance *une justification* des mesures de POLIGNAC, de jeter de la poussière aux yeux du peuple anglais, et de *lui fermer* la bouche lorsque cet acte de tyrannie aurait été commis en France. Le moyen, en effet, de croire que cet écrivain à gages aurait pu prévoir que POLIGNAC avait conçu le projet *d'établir la censure, et d'abolir entièrement les droits d'élection?* Le moyen de croire que, dans le mois de mai, cet homme saurait que Polignac tenterait de faire ce qu'il a précisément fait, dans le mois de juillet, sans être convaincu que cet écrivain à gages en avait reçu avis de *quelques individus de ce pays-ci?* On ne pourra jamais persuader à qui que ce soit, que Polignac eût communiqué ces horribles projets à ce vil mercenaire; et, par conséquent, nous sommes forcés de croire que, dans le mois de mai, il avait été instruit par *QUELQUE HABITANT DE LONDRES* de ce

the Charter; but the scheme was “BUNGLED IN THE EXECUTION;” the courage and the virtue of the brave Parisians made it fail; and now come to be considered the dangers which will arise *to this country* from the “BUNGLING OF THE EXECUTION.”

8. This hired writer says that we must “buckle on our armour for another quarter of a century of wars.” From the moment that the news of the revolution reached us, I put in motion *all the little means in my power* to prove to the French people that they had to apprehend *no open hostility from England*; and this I did not by vague assertions, but by laying before them facts, showing the state of our debts, taxes, and misery; by showing that even if we had the criminal *wish* to embroil and enslave them, we had not the *ability* to do it. If the wish were entertained (and I would fain hope that it was not), events have proved the correctness of my opinions: for it is now demi-officially declared that we shall *acknowledge the new order of things in France*, and that we shall consider the pretender to the throne merely as a *private person*!

9. What then becomes of this hiring’s threat of “buckling on our armour for another quarter of a century?” Instead of this, all is peace and friendship; all is mutual good-will between the *people* of the two countries, who are literally rushing into each other’s arms; and who, if left to follow the dictates of their own hearts and interests, may live in peace for a century. We may drink the wine from the vine-covered hills of France, and the French may wear the wool from our verdant downs. The *aristocracy* and the *high clergy* keep, indeed, a sulky silence on this grand event; they manifestly view it with plaines verdo�antes. *L’aristocratie et le*

qu’on se proposait de faire à Paris. On a précisément tenté d’exécuter ce qu’il avait suggéré; je veux dire l’ordonnance relative à la censure, et l’ordonnance pour le renversement complet de la Charte; mais le plan a été culbuté avant qu’il fut mis à exécution. Le courage et l’énergie des braves Parisiens l’ont fait avorter; et il ne nous reste plus maintenant qu’à considérer les dangers qui peuvent résulter pour ce pays-ci de ce manque d’exécution.

8. Ce loyal écrivain dit que nous devons nous préparer à une guerre qui durera un quart de siècle, au moins. Du moment où la nouvelle de la révolution fut répandue parmi nous, je ne négligeai aucun des moyens qui étaient en mon faible pouvoir, pour convaincre les Français qu’ils n’avaient à craindre aucun acte d’hostilité ouverte de notre part. Pour y parvenir, j’eus recours, non pas à des assertions vagues, mais je citai des faits tendant à mettre au jour notre dette nationale, nos taxes et notre misère. Je leur prouvai que, lors même que nous aurions le criminel désir de les brouiller et de les enchaîner, nous étions dans l’impuissance absolue de le satisfaire. Si nous en avions le désir, (ce que je suis loin de croire,) les événements ont démontré que mon opinion était bien fondée; car on vient de déclarer, d’une manière en quelque sorte officielle, que nous reconnaîtrons le nouvel ordre des choses en France, et que nous ne considérerons le prétendant au trône que comme simple particulier.

9. Que deviendra donc la menace de cet écrivain mercenaire, “d’une prétenue guerre d’un quart de siècle”? Tout est paix et amitié; tout est harmonie et bienveillance entre les deux nations, dont les individus se jettent, littéralement parlant, dans les bras les uns des autres, et qui peuvent vivre en paix, durant un siècle, s’il leur est permis de suivre l’impulsion de leurs cœurs et de consulter leurs intérêts respectifs. Nous pourrons désormais boire le vin produit par les côteaux dorés de la France, et les Français pourront se couvrir des laines produites par nos plaines verdoয়antes. *L’aristocratie et le*

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feelings like those that gnawed the *haut clergé* gardent un morne silence heart of Satan, when he saw the happiness of our first parents. No doubt at all that the WHOLE of this body KNEW, in the month of May, that which was then known to the hireling writer above cited. No doubt at all, that *they* anticipated POLIGNAC's *coup d'état* (state-stroke) with delight. No doubt at all that they exulted in the prospect of seeing *all real liberty of the press, and all real right of representation, extinguished for ever*; and therefore their sulky silence is natural; but not more natural than the loudly-expressed joy of the people of England; not more natural than their generous sympathy with the people of France, and their admiration of the valour, wisdom, and promptitude, by which they have vindicated their rights.

10. The observations of this hired writer on the motive *for our caring what the French do*, are just *forty-one years old*, when they first issued from the brain of the pernicious BURKE, who then, as this writer now does, talked about the "*flinging of fire-brands*." On this subject, and on the other dangers that this man anticipated from the "*BUNGLING*" of POLIGNAC, I shall speak in my next Letter, concluding, for the present, by merely observing, that the "*flinging of fire-brands*" is dangerous to those only whose houses are made of PAPER.

Wm. COBBETT.

sur ce grand événement; ils manifestent des sentiments pareils à ceux qui rongeaient le cœur de Satan, en voyant le bonheur dont jouissaient nos premiers pères. Nul doute que *tous les membres* de ce corps savaient, au mois de mai, tout ce qui était alors connu de l'écrivain mercenaire dont nous avons déjà parlé; nul doute qu'ils contemplaient d'avance, avec une joie secrète, le *coup d'état* médité par POLIGNAC; nul doute qu'ils jouissaient d'avance du doux espoir de voir disparaître à jamais et la *liberté de la presse, et le droit de représentation*. Leur morne silence est donc bien naturel; mais pas plus naturel que la joie si hautement manifestée par le peuple anglais; pas plus naturel que sa noble et généreuse sympathie pour le peuple Français, et son admiration de la valeur, de la sagesse, et surtout de la promptitude avec laquelle celui-ci a vengé ses droits.

10. Les observations de cet écrivain salarié sur le motif *de l'intérêt que nous prenons à ce qui se passe en France* datent de quarante ans, à laquelle époque elles sortirent de la cervelle du *pensionné* Burke, qui alors, comme le rédacteur du QUARTERLY REVIEW désirerait le faire aujourd'hui, parlait de semer des brandons. Je reviendrai, dans ma prochaine lettre, sur ce sujet, ainsi que sur les dangers que cet homme veut nous faire redouter par suite de la *non-réussite des projets criminels de Polignac*. Je terminerai la présente par une seule observation: c'est que *les brandons* ne sont dangereux que pour ceux dont les maisons sont construites avec du PAPIER.

GME. COBBETT.

TO THE YOUNG MEN
OF
NOTTINGHAM.

My FRIENDS,—Every where I have found the *young* men good and sound and sensible, and no where more so than at NOTTINGHAM; and therefore, on this occasion, I address myself to you. Those amongst us who have grey hair on our tops, may, if we be made of pretty elastic and lasting stuff, *point out what ought to be done*; but it is the young ones that must *do it*. I have, this week, matter, to do full justice to which would require ten Registers; I must, therefore, be short upon each topic.

POLIGNAC PLOT.

READ my letter to Wellington, which I have published above, in French as well as in English. It may, besides the political lesson it contains, serve as an *exercise* to those of you who are learning French. You see that it is as clear as daylight, that the PLOT originated with our *boroughmongers* and **THEIR TOOLS**, and *who those tools are* I need not point out to you. The hired writer, who is a tool of the **TOOLS**, says that we *cannot live at peace* without the success of the Polignac Plot. This is not what the *boroughmongers* mean. If they had spoken out, they would have said this : “If the French be allowed to continue “to choose their representatives freely, “and especially by ballot; if they be “suffered to live without tithes, and “without an aristocracy upheld by pri-“mogeniture; if they be suffered to live “without penal game laws, and without “enormous taxes, expended in places, “pensions, sinecures, grants, and con-“tracts; if they be let go on in this “way, we must give up our traffic in “seats and all the profits of that traffic. “Therefore, let the French be reduced “to slavery again; and then, when “OUR REFORMERS (whom God “confound!) call for reform here, we “shall point to the French, and say : “What! do you not see, that, after “having tried your wild and visionary “schemes in France, they have given

“them up, and have, for the happiness “of the country, resorted to a Chamber “of Deputies chosen, in fact, by the “Ministers, and no more the represen-“tatives of the people than the mem-“bers of old Sarum are.” Such were the *thoughts* of all the *boroughmongers* and their relations and dependents; and such would have been their *words*, if they had spoken out. Their second-hand tool of the Review spoke out a part. They were all *talking of the plot* in June and July. They made *so sure of success*, that they used *very little disguise*. They knew that a river of blood must flow; but what have rivers of blood ever been to *boroughmongers* and **THEIR TOOLS**! The plot failed, and now they are like the tiger driven from his prey by the roar of the lion, skulking in their caverns, and endeavouring to smother their growlings.

SHAM-REFORMERS.

THE *boroughmongers* now build their hopes on these *shams*, or *shoymoys*. *Burdett* and his *Man*, after their pelt-*ing* at Covent-Garden, can do them little service, except by *bawling for re-form*, and thereby throwing discredit on it. *Alderman Shawl* is laughed at, though, poor fellow, his heart is good. *Sir Bobby* is *hors de combat* for any good that he can do the *borough-mongers*. *Brougham* and *Hume* will be *their trumps*; for as to *Denman*, (whose seat some one amongst you ought to have filled), he, with his charnel-house voice, will be able, though his heart is excellent in the cause, to do nothing for them. **THERE MUST BE A REFORM**; mind that. Look at the state of the country; look at the debt, the taxes, the tithes, the pensions and the sinecures; look at the *paper-money*; look at the armed French nation; look at the insulting monuments on the “field of Waterloo”; look at a hundred steam-boats at Boulogne; look at the coast of Sussex and Kent; look at Jersey and Guersey; look at the navy of the United States; then look at our sufferings; and then believe, if you can, that a reform can now be

refused any longer. It MUST COME ; and now the boroughmongers will endeavour to make it *such as shall be of no use to the people* ; such as shall have the *name* and not the substance. They will not hope to succeed in cheating us by "Lord John Russell's Reform." That will now be too gross for them to attempt. But they will, above all things, try to *avoid the ballot* ; and by that means *retain their power of corruption*. To effect this they rely mainly on their trump, BROUGHAM. CURTEIS in Sussex, TREVOR in Wales, DENISON in Surrey, and many others, have *declared against the ballot* ; and in every case they have cited the "HIGH AUTHORITY of Mr. Brougham ! " We will make his authority pretty low before the day of operation shall come ; and here I begin with him upon the spot.—In the year 1814, when Lord Cochrane had been expelled from the House of Commons, Brougham offered himself for the vacant seat in Westminster ; but the committee, at the suggestion of Major Cartwright, demanded a declaration of his principles as to reform ; and he declared, in the most explicit manner, for Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and all the plan of Major Cartwright. In 1817, when the *Green Bags* were before the Houses, and when the acts were passing to *dungeon the reformers*, he, like the rest of the false whigs, *voted against the acts*, but said every thing to show that *the acts ought to pass*. He condemned the conduct of the reformers ; *ridiculed their plans* ; and called the plan of Major Cartwright a set of "*little nostrums and big blunders*." The Major and the Westminster committee, indignant at this, accused him of falseness in having declared for the Major's plan in 1814. Now mind ! He denied that he had declared for it. But they had his *declaration in writing, written and signed by himself*. In 1827, when that poor squalling thing, Canning, was prime minister, and when it was said in the newspapers that Brougham was going to be *Master of the Rolls*, Canning was asked by Peel what he meant to do as to the question of Par-

liamentary Reform. Canning answered that he "WOULD OPPOSE IT TO THE LAST HOUR OF HIS LIFE, IN WHATEVER SHAPE IT MIGHT BE BROUGHT FORWARD." Upon this, Burdett, who sat close at the back of Canning, rose and said, that he would support Canning notwithstanding this declaration against reform. Bobby Wilson said the same. Hobhouse said nothing. But Brougham rose and said, that "THE PEOPLE NO LONGER WISHED FOR A REFORM OF THE PARLIAMENT." And that nice little man, Lord John Russell ; that sweet little reformer, who has just been sent packing by the town of Bedford, rose and said, that, *in consequence of this indisposition to reform on the part of the people, he should not bring forward a motion which he had intended to bring forward in favour of reform*. In 1830, Mr. O'Connell made a motion for triennial parliaments, universal suffrage, and voting by ballot ; and Brougham, in a most laboured speech, opposed his motion, and particularly that part of it that related to *the ballot*. Such is a brief sketch of his conduct as far as relates to the question of parliamentary reform. Of his other twistings and windings ; of his various fooleries and half-mad political tricks ; of that "*all jaw and no judgment*," which has become a saying amongst the reporters, as applied to his harangues and his conduct ; of all these, I shall have opportunities enough of speaking hereafter, having here laid the ground for that work of demolition of him which will assuredly be accomplished, if he dare act as the trump of the boroughmongering crew. He has *nothing in him* ; he knows nothing of the nation's affairs, either domestic or foreign ; he has a vague hope that *mere talk* can keep this system together ; he fancies that the name of "*member for Yorkshire*" will give him great weight ; of *three hundred thousand* adult males in Yorkshire, he has had the votes of about *two thousand* ; and that, too, only because there was nobody to oppose him. Silly brawler as he is, he knows that *the ballot* would have kept him out of Parliament altogether ; he

knows that he never would have been in Parliament if there had been a ballot ; and, therefore, he is the enemy of the ballot. But WE WILL HAVE THE BALLOT, in spite of Brougham and the boroughmongers, too. The other trump of the boroughmongers is the *totter-up*, who is, it seems, gone to Scotland, to get out of the way of these French festivities. The totter-up will find himself in a new element ; he will find himself on a boisterous sea instead of being on a duck-pond ; and he will find that this nation is no more to be amused by his tottings-up, than soldiers in a battle are to be amused with a Methodist sermon. Yet the boroughmongers hope, and particularly those who are loan-mongers as well as boroughmongers, that he will be able to persuade the people that every thing can be put to rights *by his economical motions*. If the Parliament be not called together until February, the chances are that he will never make any motion at all ; and at best, he must swim along with the stream of reform, or to the bottom he goes. So much for these shoyhoys.

GOLD.

THE newspapers say, that *two millions of ounces* of gold and silver, I believe they say two millions and a half, have been sent out of the country within about ten days (I write this on the 23d of August). They do not particularly say how much gold and how much silver. One million of ounces of gold is about a fifth part of the quantity that was ever in the country for many years past. The Bank has out about twenty-six millions of pounds in their notes. *How much gold* the old lady has to answer these notes, I cannot say ; but this I know, that *new sovereigns* only are to be had at the Bank. There are about twenty millions of country bank notes afloat, compared with all which paper the quantity of gold in the country must be trifling. If the gold continue to go away, the Bank must do one of two things ; make a PANIC or make a BANK-RESTRICTION. If she draw in her paper, in order to be able to make good her payments in gold, then there

is panic ; then we come to barter in reality, to within forty-eight hours of which we were brought in 1825 ; then two hundred thousand families are without bread to put in their mouths in this town alone ; then two hundred thousand men are out of employment in this town alone. Think of that boroughmongers ! If, in Paris, where the paper-money is next to nothing, a mere temporary shock has produced, amidst a people in good humour with their present rulers, such dangers as we now behold there, what must be the effect of a total stagnation of dealings amongst the million and a half of human beings assembled on this one spot ! In such a scene where would be the tottings-up of Hume, and where the sarcasms of the brawling Brougham against the right of voting by ballot ? Not an ox, not a sheep, not a calf, not a pig, not even a fowl or a duck or a rabbit, would be brought to this place from the moment that the panic began to prevail. The vessels loaded with wheat and with flour and other provisions, would sail back again as fast as possible ; and the consequences no man can describe or even imagine. This course, therefore, the government will not suffer to be pursued ; because this would be manifest, certain, and swift destruction. They must, then, in case the gold should continue to go away, resort to Bank-restriction ; that is to say, to the making paper-money a legal tender ; and to the issuing of small paper-money again. The end of this measure would be very little different from the other, only it would be slower in coming ; it would give a little time for preparation ; it would raise prices enormously ; it would lessen debts and taxation in the same degree ; it would please farmers and landlords too, the one having rents and the other having mortgages to pay ; but the paper would soon sink into a battle against the gold, and then would come that termination, which, upon the whole, would probably be the best. In either of these cases, how wildly Brougham and Hume would look about them ! The wise thing would be, to make the Bank-re-

striction, and then, at once, to make the parliamentary reform. However, those that have the power must do as they please, and the consequence will be on their heads and not on the heads of those who have no power. In this state of things, common sense points out to every man who can do it, to furnish himself with **SOME GOLD**. I know that there is in the city, a very general expectation that a Bank-restriction and legal tender must take place before it be long; and that either that or panic must come before Christmas. This has long been my opinion. My position is this, that wheat must be, on an average of years and seasons, at five shillings a bushel, or less, or that the gold must leave this country. So to contract the issue of paper as to bring down wheat to five shillings a bushel, is to bring panic and all its horrors; to keep the wheat up at a higher price, is to fill the country with paper and to drive the gold out. Let no man deceive himself. One or the other of these must take place. Some people imagine, that, having got rid of the **one-pound notes**, we are safe from the consequences of panic, and that Bank-restriction cannot become necessary. These persons forget two things; first, that the one-pound notes still circulate in Ireland and Scotland; and, second, that there were no one-pound Bank-notes when the Bank stoppage took place in 1797, and that there was a run, a panic and a stoppage with no notes in existence under five pounds. If a Bank stoppage were now to take place, the bread would soon sell for sixpence or a shilling a pound, and a gold sovereign would sell for three or four pounds in paper. Let those, therefore, who can now get the gold, and who do not do it, have the full enjoyment of all the consequences.

WATERLOO-AFFAIR.

AMONGST the *signs of the times* are the following facts, which ought to be made known to the whole country. On the field of Waterloo, as it is called, which is in Belgium, and in the territories which the gallant French nation

was compelled to give up at the peace made with the Bourbons, there has been made a mound of earth a hundred feet high, upon the top of which there is the *statue of a lion* which is thirty feet high. On this mound, it is said, the late King of England stood with Wellington, and surveyed the field. On the same field there is a triumphal column to commemorate the prowess of the *Hanoverian* army, and another column to commemorate that of the *Prussian* army. The whole spot and lands about it are said to be the *property of Wellington*, whose name is emblazoned on all these monuments. In his peerage, printed in London, he is called amongst his other titles, *Prince of Waterloo*, and it is also stated in the peerage, that he has the grant of an estate in Belgium, worth *two thousand pounds sterling a year*. In England, we have, not only in London, but in all the great towns, *Waterloo streets*, *Waterloo houses*, *Waterloo cottages*, *Waterloo places*, *Waterloo squares*; and, in London, we have a *Waterloo bridge* across the Thames. But our grand triumphal monument is a *statue of Achilles*, erected in Hyde Park, just opposite the windows of Wellington's own house, and it was said, at the time when it was erected, "to have been done by a subscription of the ladies of England." This statue has written on the base of it the following words:

TO

ARTHUR DUKE OF WELLINGTON

And his brave companions in arms this statue of Achilles, cast from cannon taken in the victories of *Salamanca*, *Victoria*, *Toulouse* and *Waterloo*, is inscribed by their country-women. Placed on this spot, on the 18th day of June, 1822, by command of his Majesty, King George the Fourth.

Now, I read in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 13th of August, the following words. "On the day of the Review in the Park, the people put a pipe in the mouth of the noble statue of Achilles,

"an oak branch in his hand, and pelted him with stones. And yet this statue is erected by the ladies in honour of Wellington, who destroyed Napoleon." It was not an oak branch; it was a dirty, broken broom-stick. The statue was, indeed, severely pelted; and, the other morning when I saw it, the broken broom-stick was still in the hand of the statue. The statue had been wounded in several places, and the stones lay very thick about the base; but, what attracted my attention most was, a board put up near the statue, commanding the public authorities to seize and bring to justice any persons that might be seen attempting to injure the statue! I should further observe that the park is locked up in the night time; so that these acts of aggression must have been committed in open day. It is not for me to offer opinions upon the subject any further than to question the soundness of the logic of the writer above quoted, who seems to think that it argues brutal ignorance in the people of England, to despise and mock at, and insult, a statue that had been erected by the ladies of England. I should observe further that the inscription on the statue is something like the labels in the stocking shops:

ONE SHILLING

and eleven-pence halfpenny.

Poor Achilles makes but a very small figure. There, now, take the facts just as they are; make your own commentary, and say what they are a sign of. Another fact: some days ago, it was announced, in the newspapers, that *His present Majesty*, William the Fourth, was causing to be built at Windsor, a new gallery, to be called the WATER-LOO GALLERY, which gallery was intended to contain and exhibit all the trophies taken at the battle of Waterloo. This morning (23rd of August), the *Morning Herald* is authorised to state, that the gallery was NAMED by his LATE Majesty, George the Fourth, and was intended by HIM for the aforementioned purpose; and that it is not true that the gallery is "erecting;" for that it has been formed out of apartments in

the Castle that were erected a long while ago! Very good: I like this well: it is a sign that useless grounds of irritation are to be avoided in future. That is all I shall say about these matters.

CHARLES THE TENTH.

It appears to be certain that this man and his family are to take up their abode at LULWORTH CASTLE, in Dorsetshire, which is a very fine place, about 130 miles from London, belonging to that most respectable Catholic family of WELD, who have expended a princely fortune from pure zeal in the cause of the religion of their fathers. This place was rented by Peel a few years ago as a sporting place. I always thought, and always said, that Mr. Charles Capet and his family would come to this country. It was nonsense to talk of their going to America, and is now nonsense to talk of their going to Austria. Whether it be just, now that they are in the country, to suffer them to continue here will depend upon circumstances. If they can remain here without giving just offence to the French people and their chief, it is right that they should be suffered to remain; but if they assume any titles incompatible with the laws and constitution of France; if they keep up here any intrigues or cabals tending to excite suspicions of the intentions of our government, and tending to embroil the two countries in war, then they ought to be sent away. The like of this was done at the peace of Amiens, and the like of it must be done now if their conduct should give umbrage to the French; for millions of human beings are not to be rendered miserable; rivers of blood are not to flow, to gratify the ambition, or the malice, of a few individuals. As far as our own King is concerned, we have, in his character, and in the real love which he has shown for the people, a sure guarantee that nothing will be done injurious to us; and though it is impossible to disguise from ourselves and the world, that some persons here feel great mortification at the failure of the schemes

of Polignac, every thing that I see leads me to hope and to believe, that the ministry will now do nothing to create a breach between the two countries, who both want peace, and whose mutual friendship may command that tranquillity in Europe which is so necessary to a peaceable and equitable arrangement of our own difficult affairs. In my last Register I gave it as my opinion that the Duke of Wellington would *of himself propose a reform of parliament*; and my reason for this I am now about to state more fully than I did then.

THE ELECTIONS.

In Norfolk the old Tory Woodhouse has been shoved aside, by a man who has *pledged himself to reform*; in Cambridgeshire the Duke of Rutland's brother, or cousin, or something, has been put out by a private gentleman, upon his making a solemn declaration that he would *vote for radical reform*. In Suffolk, my old friend, GAFFER GOOCH, has been fairly hooted down as a common nuisance, though sitting in a seat of twenty-five years old, looked upon as an heir-loom in the family; and though backed by the aristocracy and the parsons in phalanx. There is some precious good stuff in these eastern counties. In Kent, Honeywood has given way to one of the very best and most humane men that England ever contained. In other counties no very great change as to the principles of the men; but everywhere *reform* has been sounded in their ears, and no where has there been found a man bold enough to say, that he was *not for some degree of reform of Parliament*. Of those elected, DENNISON, in Surrey, TEVOR, in Wales, CURTEIS, in Sussex, and WESTERN (if he be elected) in Essex, have declared *against the ballot*, and all upon the authority of Brougham; but they will all change their tone, and their high authority will take the lead in the change. The wretched creatures called Whigs boast that they have "ORGANISED A PARTY"; and they really think that they shall put out the Duke, and

come scrambling into power and emoluments. The poor creatures do not consider the state of the country at all. They do not consider that it is solely the NAME of this one man that keeps the system together, and that if that name were taken away, it would fall to pieces of its own weight; they do not consider that, in circumstances like these, a change of ministry is convulsion. However, if the Duke do not himself propose a parliamentary reform, they will have the ability to worry him out of his existence. They know that it cannot be carried peaceably without its being a measure of the Government. They want it not to be carried; but in order to annoy him, and to get his power from him, they will ask for what they do not want; they will get involved in the question so deep as to be unable to extricate themselves; they will have the whole country at their back upon this question; they will pull down the Duke, or create a commotion. If the Duke propose the reform himself, and do it at once and frankly, this party, as they call themselves, is down in a moment, and the Duke's popularity is established for the remainder of his life. The people look at this party not only without confidence, but with contempt. The people have long viewed them with contempt. They do not look upon the Duke with contempt. His silence and reserve, and the ostentatious display which his officious and foolish and servile satellites have made about him; all these *displease* the people; they draw a contrast between his deportment and that of the present king; but they do not despise him as they do the whigs, whose shuffling and treachery are everlasting subjects of invective. If he had appeared at Covent Garden, they would have showed him no respect; but they would not have *pelted* him with cabbages and turnips as they did Burdett and Hobhouse. Is it not plain, then, that the path for him to pursue is the path of reform, with all the people at his back? No maxim is truer than that desperate diseases require desperate remedies. Prudence sometimes dictates to men to risk nothing; but there

are times when the greatest of prudence dictates to them to risk every thing ; and such are precisely the circumstances in which the Duke is now placed. When he looks at the debt, when he looks at the taxes, when he looks at the awful state of the paper money, when he looks at the grievous sores that afflict the working classes of this country, when he must know that there are millions of men who go to bed hungry after their day's work, when he beholds all this, he must, he must be convinced that *some great change must take place*. Power never listens to reason, except it be on its own side. POLIGNAC had two desperate remedies before him. One was to *abrogate the charter*; the other to *yield to the will of the people*, and thus make the monarchy *half a republic*. I confess that his choice lay between these two ; but he never appears to have thought of the latter, which was the least desperate of the two ; and therefore, he did not make his master half a republican chief ; but made him an outcast and a wanderer. Parliamentary reform would, to a certainty, *greatly bring down* this aristocracy ; but the choice lies between this and *something a great deal worse* for that aristocracy. I do not wish, and I never have wished, to see this worse take place ; and I have always been particularly anxious to inculcate no opinion hostile to the kingly office and dignity. In short, all may be preserved that ought to be preserved, if those who have the power in their hands choose to preserve it ; and, if they do not, be the consequences on their heads.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

On the 1st of September, the fourteenth and last NUMBER of this little work will be published. It contains my Advice to the CITIZEN, and, if I could ensure its being read by *every* young man in England (who can read), between the age of fifteen and twenty-seven, I would be bound, if that were necessary to accomplish the purpose, to live upon bread alone (except something

else were necessary to preserve my life) for all the remainder of my days ; for I am sure, that the reading of this one Number by *all* those young men could not fail to produce that restoration of the happiness and high character of my country, to cause which to be restored has been the great object of all the labours of my life for thirty years past. If there be readers of this work, who want their numbers completed, I will, for their convenience, and indeed for their interest, continue to sell detached numbers *until the 1st of November* ; after which it will be merely accidental if an imperfect set can be completed. After the 1st of November, I shall sell the numbers in complete sets.

HISTORY OF GEORGE IV.

THE First Number of this work (larger than the Numbers of the Advice) will be also published on the 1st of September, that is to say, next Wednesday. The history will be that of the Regency and Reign of George IV. No man knows this history better than myself. I have lived under this Regency and this reign. I have witnessed all the transactions of them ; I have known the actors, their characters and their motives, The Regency and the reign are at an end ; and let us now have the true history of them put on indelible record. Peel says, that we are *too near* the various blessings of the late King's reign to be able to describe them with sufficient *coolness*. Yes, to be sure, the starvation of the Irish, and of the English too ; the thanking of the soldiers for the deeds of the sixteenth of August ; the persecution and the death, or utter ruin, of 1817 ; the Six Acts of 1819. the treatment of the Scotch reformers in 1820 ; the excruciating tortures of poor OGDEN ; the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and all the accumulated injuries and perfidies of the poor unfortunate CAROLINE of BRUNSWICK ; it is very true that that we are "*too near*" to these to speak of them with "*coolness* ;" but we

are not too near to them to speak of them with *truth*; and if we do that our great great grand-children will not read them with coolness. At any rate, I will speak of them *now*, for there is a time for all things, and this is the time for doing this work.

LECTURE.

HAVING a great desire to address the working classes on the subject of the recent events in France, and to offer them my advice as to the conduct which they themselves ought to pursue, in order to assist in obtaining a just reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, I have engaged the Rotunda, in Blackfriars' Road, for that purpose, for next Tuesday evening, the 30th instant. The lecture will begin at six o'clock precisely, the price of admission to be TWO-PENCE. The money, after paying the expenses of the place, and other matters connected with the lecture, I shall subscribe to the fund for the widows and orphans of Paris.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR THE

WIDOWS AND ORPHANS AT PARIS.

SEVERAL subscriptions have been received this week by letter, which will be particularly acknowledged next week. I am happy to hear that they are making little collections *by parishes* in SUFFOLK, and hope it will be done in other counties. I hear, with delight, but not with surprise, that there is a subscription going on in the public-spirited town of WOLVERHAMPTON. Letters, with money or orders, may be directed to Sir THOMAS BEEVOR, Bart., or to me, at No. 183, Fleet-Street. Sir Thomas will be back from Paris in a few days, when he will give, or order to be given, answers to all the letters addressed to him.

NEW EDITION.

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

JUST published, at my shop, No. 183, Fleet Street, a New Edition of a volume under this title, with a POSTSCRIPT, price 2s. 6d. in boards, and consisting of ten letters, addressed to *English Tax-payers*, of which letters, the following are the contents:—

Letter I.—On the Question, Whether it be advisable to emigrate from England at this time?

Letter II.—On the Descriptions of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

Letter III.—On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by Reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

Letter IV.—On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

Letter V.—Of the sort of Ship to go in, and of the Steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant.

Letter VI.—Of the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in Cabin or Steerage.

Letter VII.—Of the first Steps to be taken on Landing.

Letter VIII.—Of the way to proceed to get a Farm, or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an Independent Gentleman.

Letter IX.—On the means of Educating Children, and of obtaining literary Knowledge.

Letter X.—Of such other Matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

Postscript.—An account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett.

It grieves me very much to know it to be my duty to publish this book; but I cannot refrain from doing it, when I see the alarms and hear the cries of thousands of virtuous families that it may save from utter ruin.

A TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied, with minute Directions relative to each mode of application. These are all drawn from the actual experience of Mr. Cobbett, on his Farm at Barn Elm, last year (1828). The Book is a neatly-printed Duodecimo. Price 5s. 6d.

THE WOODLANDS:

OR, A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting ; on the planting ; on the cultivating ; on the pruning ; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods ;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out ;

THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting-down and the applying of the Tree ; and all that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo., and the Price is 14s.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER ; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens ; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard ; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens ; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers ; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, to represent the laying-out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on Fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s. in Boards.

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA. This Work, and the English Grammar, were the produce of Long Island, and they are particularly dear to me on that account. I wrote this book after I had been there a year, during which I kept an exact journal of the weather. I wrote it with a view of giving true information to all those who wished to be informed respecting that interesting country. I have given an account of its Agriculture, of the face of the Country, of the State of Society, the Manners of the People, and the Laws and Customs. The paper is fine on which this Book is printed, the print good, and the price moderate, viz. 5s.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR ; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness*, its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could : I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions* : I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

To be had at 183, Fleet Street.

THE LANCET.

No. 365, published this day, contains :—

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- Lithotropy
- Lithotomy
- Lateral Operation
- High Operation
- Recto-Vesical Operation
- Fistula in Ano ; Treatment
- Abscess
- Piles
- Stricture
- Use of Bougies

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- Its Varieties
- Causes of Hernia
- Treatment of Hernia

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Letter of Mr. W. B. Lynn to the Council of the College of Surgeons

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